

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 NEA-09 CU-02 SAJ-01 ACDA-05

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 OMB-01 OIC-02

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2058

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VALETTA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2560

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: PREAMBLE TO MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION

REF: STATE 144608 (1974)

1. THIS CABLE REPORTS ON A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL FOR THREE PARAGRAPHS OF THE PREAMBLE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, AND REQUESTS FURTHER GUIDANCE ON LANGUAGE REFERRING TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.

2. IN WORK ON MEDETERRANEAN DECLARATION, SPONSORS OF TWO DRAFT PAPERS (ITALY AND CYPRUS/MALTA/YUGOSLAVIA) HAVE NOW PRODUCED THREE COMPROMISE PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS BASED ON THEIR DRAFTS, FOR USE AS A COMPOSITE BASIS FOR FURTHER DRAFTING. TEXT OF THESE PARAGRAPHS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

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--RECOGNIZING THE GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, CULTURAL,
ECNOMIC, AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES,
--CONVINCED THAT SECURITY IN EUROPE FITS INTO THE BROADER
FRAMEWORK OF WORLD SECURITY AND CANNOT BE DISSOCIATED
FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA AS A WHOLE, AND THAT ACCORD-
INGLY THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY SHOULD NOT BE
CONFINED TO EUROPE BUT SHOULD EXTEND TO OTHER PARTS OF
THE WORLD, AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA,
--STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR MUTUAL ECNOMIC
INTERESTS WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN
STATES, AND CONSCIOUS OF THEIR COMMON INTEREST IN THE
FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATION. END TEXT

3. PARAGRAPH ON SECURITY CLOSELY RESEMBLES ITALIAN PRE-
AMBULAR PARAGRAPH 2, WHICH INCLUDED LANGUAGE WHICH CAUSED
DEPARTMENT SOME CONCERN (REFTEL). WE HAVE, OF COURSE,
EXPLAINED TO DELEGATIONS CONCERNED THAT WE FEEL THIS
LANGUAGE MAY BE TAKEN TO IMPLY THAT CBMS SHOULD BE EX-
TENDED TO COVER EXERCISES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. INTERESTED
NATO DELS (ITALIANS, FRENCH, AND UK), HOWEVER,
ARGUE THAT PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE IN THIS PARAGRAPH IS
VAGUE ENOUGH TO MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO INTERPRET AS
A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO CBMS. THEY NOT THAT IT REFERS
TO SECURITY IN ITS BROADEST SENSE, INCLUDING PRINCIPLES
GUIDING INTERSTATE RELATIONS. THESE DELEGATIONS HAVE
ALSO POINTED OUT THAT WHEREAS EARLIER CYPRIOT/MALTESE/
YUGOSLAV DRAFT MENTIONED CBMS, MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION
OPERATIVE LANGUAGE ON SECURITY, WHICH HAS NO BEEN
REGISTERED, DOES NOT REPEAT NOT CONTAIN ANY REFERENCE
TO CBMS (SEE GENEVA 2382). IN THIS SITUATION ITALIANS,
FRENCH AND UK CONSIDER THAT PREAMBULAR PHRASE MENTIONED
ABOVE CANNOT BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN CBMS SHOULD APPLY IN
MEDITERRANEAN. IN FACT, SOME DELEGATIONS WHO WERE PRE-
VIOUSLY INTERESTED IN APPLYING CBMS TO MEDITERRANEAN ARE
NOW OPPOSED TO THIS IDEA (E.G. SPAIN, WHICH INFORMED US
OF SWITCH IN THEIR POSITION FOLLOWING RECENT SPANISH-
MORROCCAN CONTRETEMPS OVER CEUTA).

4. MEANWHILE, SOVIETS ARE EVIDENTLY TRYING IN INFORMAL
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DISCUSSION TO WATER-DOWN EVEN THIS COMPROMISE PREAMBULAR
FORMULATION ON SECURITY, ALTHOUGH THEIR SUGGESTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN
WHOLLY SUCCESSFUL IN THIS RESPECT. THEY HAVE TENTATIVELY SUGGEST-
ED THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE TEXTS:

A. "--CONVINCED THAT SECURITY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN
THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF WORLD SECURITY AND CANNOT BE
DISASSOCIATED FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA AS A WHOLE,

AND THAT ACCORDINGLY THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY IN EUROPE SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA,"

B. "--CONVINCED THAT SECURITY IN EUROPE FITS INTO THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF WORLD SECURITY AND CANNOT BE DISSOCIATED FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA AS A WHOLE, AND THAT ACCORDINGLY THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO EUROPE; --DESIROUS OF EXTENDING SECURITY TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA;"

5. WHILE WE COULD OF COURSE CONTINUE TO SEEK DELETION OF SECOND PART OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH ON SECURITY, THIS WOULD NOT BE APPRECIATED BY ALLIES WHO ARE INTERESTED IN THIS SUBJECT, AND MAY NOT BE NECESSARY IN LIGHT OF FACT THAT OPERATIVE LANGUAGE REFERRING TO CBMS HAS NOW BEEN DROPPED. WE WOULD THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT WE BE AUTHORIZED TO TAKE A RELATIVELY PASSIVE ROLE IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THESE PARAS, AND TO LET SOVIETS DILUTE SECURITY LANGUAGE IF THEY CAN. WE WOULD REMAIN ALERT TO ANY CHANGES IN TEXT WHICH MIGHT MAKE CBM IMPLICATIONS MORE EXPLICIT, AND WOULD REPORT ANY REVISED TEXTS TO DEPARTMENT BEFORE GIVING EVEN INFORMAL AGREEMENT. REQUEST GUIDANCE, PREFERABLY IN TIME FOR NEXT WORKING GROUP MEETING APRIL 16. DALE

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